1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

V. — FESTIVALS AND SACRIFICES.

Festivals.

The cycle of festivals is different among the Maritime and the Reindeer Koryak, owing to the difference of their means of subsistence. A cult of the animals upon which their livelihood depends is developed among both groups; the Maritime Koryak worshipping sea-animals, while the Reindeer Koryak worship the reindeer herd. All the religious festivals of the Koryak centre around these animals.

Festivals of the Maritime Koryak. — Following are the main festivals of the Maritime Koryak: the whale festival; the celebration at the putting-away of the boat for the winter; and that at its launching in the summer. To the religious customs of the Maritime Koryak belongs also that of wearing masks.

The Whale Festival. — The whale festival is considered the most important one. It is called Yañya-ena'čıxtitgın, which literally means "whale-service." Every killing of a whale is celebrated with a "whale-service;" but the main whale festival occurs in the fall, usually in October, after the capture of a whale. Since whales are very seldom obtained nowadays, the ceremony is celebrated in connection with the capture of a white whale.

In describing the fall festival of the Kamchadal, Krasheninnikoff calls it the festival "of expiation of sins." Judging from the description of the rites performed during this festival, it abounds in interesting details; but, unfortunately, their inner meaning remained unknown to Krasheninnikoff. In one passage[1] he states that the means of expiation of sins was confession. Women suffering from nervous fits confessed transgressions of various taboos committed by them, and were then comforted by one of the old men. Such a confession of transgressions of taboos constitutes the expiation from sins also among the Eskimo.[2]

On the other hand, it may be seen from Krasheninnikoff's description, not only that this was a family festival, but that all inhabitants of a given village took part in it, even those not related to each other.[3] It signified

[1] Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 125.

[2] Boas, Baffin-Land Eskimo, p. 121.

[3] In the description it is not mentioned in whose house the celebration took place; but Mr. Bogoras (Anthropologist, p. 606) interprets the description as meaning that there were special ceremonial houses among the Kamchad. Krasheninnikoff tells (II, p. 135) how the women of the house in which the festival was celebrated (apparently the winter house) walked off to the balagans (that is, the summer huts raised on posts), and how each returned into the house with sacrificial grass and provisions. The grass and provisions were received by two men appointed for that purpose. The grass was hung upon the charms; and the provisions, especially dried fish, were chopped with a hatchet, and returned to the woman from whom they had been taken, only a small piece being thrown into the fire as a sacrifice. Each women also put some sacrificial grass upon the hearth. Then they passed from one corner to the other, treating each other with dried fish, as a symbol of a future abundance of food-supply.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

532 grass masks by the Maritime Koryak during the whale festival. I also found wooden masks in use among them. In October, 1900, I sent Mr. Axelrod from the village of Kuel to the winter village of Paren for the purpose of taking anthropometric measurements of the inhabitants who had just moved there from their summer settlement. Mr. Axelrod, on his return, brought back, among other things, a few wooden masks. Since those masks appeared to me to be similar to the crude masks of the northern Alaskan Eskimo, and since the use of masks in general suggested a possible contact between the Koryak and the tribes of the western coasts of America, I went personally to the village of Paren in order to acquire more detailed information regarding the meaning and use of these masks. The settlement of Paren is fifteen miles 221 distant from Kuel. It is situated on the left bank of the Paren River, ten 361 miles above its estuary. The inhabitants spend spring, summer, and autumn on the seashore in the settlement of Khaĭ'mchik, at the mouth of the river Paren. As soon as the hunting-season closes, they move to Paren. While the seashore is altogether treeless, forests grow near the winter settlement, offering some protection against sea gales, and furnishing wood for fuel and building-material.

532 In Paren I learned the following about the use of masks, called by the 536 Koryak ulya'utkoučñin (literally, "wearing of masks;" from u'lya, "a mask"). They are worn during the first winter month after the new moon. Their use is partly for religious purposes, partly for amusement, the celebration being a [776] kind of masquerade. The object of walking about in masks and masquerade costumes is to drive away the kalau (kne'ñvit-aita'ti)[1] who have taken possession of the houses during the absence of the people in summer. The masks represent Big-Raven and members of his family, who constantly waged war with the kalau. However, when the masked performers descended into the house where I stopped, they were met with shouts of "Ugh! kalau have arrived!" (Gik, ñe'nveticñin yelxi'vi!) which was apparently meant either as a joke, or to frighten the kalau that were in the house. There are masks representing men and others representing women. The difference between them is that the former have mustaches, in a few cases also chin-beards, drawn with black paint or a piece of coal, while the latter are not painted at all. In Paren, only young men wore masks, not girls. They were dressed in the most homely manner. They had pulled the sleeves of their shaggy reindeer coats over their legs, and tied them so that the hood dangled behind like a tail; and they wore old greasy leather shirts. They rolled down into the house with great noise, missing several steps of the ladder. They examined all the nooks and corners. Then they commenced a dance, and represented various scenes of the coming winter life, — bear-hunting, sledge-riding, and racing. Plate v, Fig. 2 (see opp. p. 74), represents three masked persons pretending to warm themselves by a wood-

[1] See p. 27.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

175 131 enemies, they settled down in one place. At the same time, however, they refrained from forming ties of kinship with the Kamchadal, thus preserving their language and customs intact. Now they have become Russianized, like the Kamchadal, and in no way differ from them. "Koryaki,"[1] the name of their settlement, is the sole reminder of their origin.

131 161 At the present time the camps of the Reindeer Koryak reach as far south along the western slope of the Kamchatka Ridge as the fifty-fifth degree of north latitude:[1] and, according to Slunin, a few families will sometimes even reach Bolsheretzk.[2] The Reindeer Koryak have also spread farther northward than at the time of the intertribal wars. Then, according to tradition, the southern Chukchee camps were separated from the northern Koryak camps by a stretch of desert land, which the Chukchee would cross from time to time to attack the Koryak. Now the Chukchee and Koryak camps wander peacefully together upon the table-land of the Palpal.

I am inclined to suppose that no changes have occurred in the distribution of the Koryak in the northeastern region. The northeastern branch of the Koryak, the Kerek, have held themselves aloof from Russian influence, and until recently have been very little known.

●221] The western boundary-line of the Koryak territory is formed, now as formerly, by the Stanovoi, or, as Maydell calls it, the Kolyma Ridge. But in winter, for purposes of squirrel-hunting, a few camps wander across the Stanovoi Ridge into the region of the Kolyma River, as far as its tributaries Omolon and Korkodon, and return in the spring. According to traditions of [221] the Korkodon Yukaghir, the Koryak in olden times crossed the Stanovoi Ridge to wage war against them.

131 161 361 At the present time the Koryak territory is situated mainly in the two districts of Gishiga and Petropavlovsk. The Gishiga district has an area of 81,553 square miles, and that of Petropavlovsk 149,467 square miles. According to official data, there are in the Gishiga district 0.9 inhabitants to a square mile, and in that of Petropavlovsk 0.45 inhabitants to a square mile. The population is, of course, concentrated near the mouths of the rivers, in the river-valleys, and in places where reindeer-food is abundant. Between these inhabited places are large stretches of uninhabited desert land.

To understand Koryak culture in so far as it depends upon environment, it is necessary to give here a brief description of the nature of that region.

133 OROGRAPHY. — The Koryak territory may be called a highland rather than a lowland country, but nowhere do the elevations reach any considerable height. They are either spurs of mountain-chains which lie outside of the Koryak country, or are small elevations forming the watersheds within the country. The Stanovoi Ridge sends a few such small spurs eastward, which

[1] See Part I, map.

[2] See Slunin, I, p. 450.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY

Fig. 2) had six sleeping-tents for thirty people. Among them were eleven persons not related to him, — herdsmen and their families.

The difference between the summer and winter tents is in the quality of the cover. For winter it is made of better and heavier skins. All holes and openings in it are sewed up and covered over, and the snow is piled up all around the tent. The inner tent for summer is made of old skins with the hair clipped short. Among some Reindeer Koryak of the Taigonos Peninsula I saw inner tents made of dressed reindeer-skins, like those of the Tungus.

To my mind, the Koryak tent with its inner sleeping-place appears to be a compromise between the tent of the Asiatic nomads and the snow-house of the Eskimo. The inner tent is illuminated and partly heated by a lamp fed with reindeer-fat, like the oil-lamp of the Eskimo house; while the hearth of the outer tent is intended for cooking mainly.

Except on particular occasions, when Reindeer Koryak assemble in numbers, either for purposes of trade or for the celebration of festivals, a camp (ya mkən, "people," the Koryak term for a camp of Reindeer people) is seldom composed of more than three tents. At least, I have never seen any more populous camps. A camp (see Plate XXI, Fig. 2) is usually composed of families, or groups of families, connected by ties of kinship (by blood or by marriage); or of a wealthy reindeer-owner and the families of his herdsmen; or of families not at all related to one another, but who, for the convenience of common pasture-grounds and the supervision of the herd, have combined their small herds.

The camp does not move from place to place as frequently as the Arctic nomads are supposed to do. There are four main removals during the year. Towards winter, in October, they put up their tents in the river-valleys, under the protection of high banks, among poplar and aspen groves. In spring, at the end of March, before the fawning-period begins, they descend into the open tundras of the lower courses of rivers, which are covered with lichen. In summer, in the month of July, they ascend the mountains to be near the river-sources. In the fall, at the time of the fawn festival, they return from the ridges to the elevated tundras of the watersheds and the river-valleys.

Other removals depend upon special causes; for instance, the exhaustion of pasturage, the prevalence of an epidemic among the people, or of some disease that attacks the reindeer; and sometimes the removal is for purposes of trade.

In olden times, according to tales of the Koryak, when an attack by a hostile neighbor was anticipated, and also during the wars with the Russians, the camps were surrounded by sledges, and the reindeer were driven inside of this fortified camp.

MARITIME KORYAK. — Like the tent of the Reindeer people, the dwelling of the Maritime Koryak is called, besides ɪ'ge-yan ("genuine house"), also yayáñi.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

is said that reindeer catch mice. I myself saw reindeer in our train eagerly seize the skin and other refuse of dried fish that had been thrown away by the drivers.

As I said before, the Reindeer Koryak do not like to roam about without their families;[1] but at certain seasons the herds wander far from camp, and compel the herdsman to follow them. This happens in winter, especially when the weather is exceedingly cold, and in summer, when communication by sledge is interrupted. The dwelling of the Reindeer Koryak then remains fixed in one place for two or three months; while the herd, after eating all the lichens near by, gradually moves farther away. The herdsmen at that time undergo great privations. In winter, food can be brought from the camp to the pasture in sledges, and the sleeping-tent can be transported in the same way; but in summer the herdsmen have to carry their food, bedding, teapots, and kettles. The herd is especially restless in the summer when annoyed by mosquitoes, and the herdsmen must watch day and night lest the reindeer scatter in all directions. Usually the old men, old women, and little children spend the summer on the bank of some river, fishing; while the other members of the camp, including ten-year-old boys and girls, wander about with the herd, assisting the herdsmen.

Sledge and Harness. — Plate xxiv, Fig. 1, represents the owner of a camp in a light sledge, about to leave his old camp; and Fig. 2 represents the front part of the train, ready for departure. The first sledge is occupied by one of the wives of the owner. Then follow other sections of the train. The rear is brought up by the herd with the herdsmen and grown-up boys. Some of them walk, while others drive in sledges drawn by a pair of reindeer or by one reindeer, and in which they ride to round up stray reindeer, and keep them with the herd.

This picture was taken early in April, and, as it shows, most of the reindeer still had their antlers, with the exception of the one in front, whose antlers were sawed off so that the woman could manage it more easily. Some of the reindeer had already cast one of their antlers. The males commence to cast the antlers at the end of November; but the geldings,[2] yearlings, and the barren does, cast their antlers in the month of April. Pregnant does cast their antlers from three to ten days after delivery.

Plate xxv, Fig. 1, represents the camp of a not very wealthy Reindeer Koryak in spring. The herd, consisting of four hundred reindeer, was rounded up to be moved with the camp to another place. The camp consisted of two tents, housing five families, including the owner of the herd,

[1] See p. 480.

[2] Brehm (Vol. III, p. 453, of the Russian translation) says that "the antlers of castrated reindeer always remain in the same position; that is, they preserve them if they happen to be castrated at a time the antlers were on, or they remain without antlers if they happen to be castrated just at the time they cast their antlers." No information is vouchsafed as to where the observation was made; but the error is probably due to the fact that geldings usually cast their antlers much later than normal bucks.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

226 Koryak, hitgi'yit), which belongs to the genus of smelts (*Osmerus*). Other
136 species of *Osmerus*, too, occur, but in small numbers as compared with the uyo'k. The uyo'k goes with the tide to the river-mouths and bays to spawn, in such dense masses that at low tide the shore is covered with a solid layer of roe. After spawning, the uyo'k returns to the sea.

The salveline (*Salvelinus malma* Walb), which belongs to the genus *Salmo*, also plays a rôle of some importance. The Koryak distinguish two kinds of salveline, — the large (uiti'wit) and the small (qai'ttwit), — but these are clearly of the same species, at different ages. This may be gathered also from the meaning of the Koryak word qai ("young"). The salveline spends a rather long time in freash water. Together with other fish migrating in shoals, it reaches the rivers in summer, ascends their mountain-tributaries in autumn, and goes down to the sea towards spring.

In the rivers is found also the grayling, of the genus *Thymallus*. The catch of tom-cod (*Eleginus Navaga;* Koryak wē'gen), of the family *Gadidæ*, is also used, but not so much as the various species of salmon. Herring (*Clupea harengus;* Koryak, ukii') enter the mouths of some rivers, but not every year, as is the case on the east coast of Kamchatka. In the river-mouths flounders (*Pleuronectidæ;* Koryak, a'lpi) are also procured.

Finally we must mention the eel-pout (walā'ñin) and the pike (tutki'tūt), which at times are caught in river-nets, but are not specially sought by the Koryak.

226 *Fishing-Seasons.* — The dog-salmon, the principal object of the Koryak
221 fisheries, does not enter all the rivers at the same time, but its migration begins approximately in the early or middle part of July. The main run lasts three or four weeks, but continues, with diminished numbers of fish, until the end of August. The fish enters the rivers at high tide: therefore the fishermen, before high tide, assemble off the mouth of the river; and after high tide, higher up the river. The dog-salmon does not go far up the river. Even in the river Gishiga — next to the Penshina, the largest of the Koryak rivers — it does not ascend farther than sixty-five miles from the mouth. On my route from Gishiga to the Kolyma, however, I met with dog-salmon in the Gishiga River up to eighty or eighty-five miles from its mouth. There fish that had perished were still met with in the shallows and on the dried-up river-banks, while in the swift arms of the river dying dog-salmon were making their last struggles against the current. The last fishermen I saw engaged in catching dog-salmon were approximately sixty-five miles from the mouth of the river. They were Reindeer Tungus, who were preparing their winter supplies of fish. A little below them were Reindeer Koryak and other Tungus. Russian fishermen do not ascend the river above thirty miles from its mouth. The farther up the river the dog-salmon is caught, the drier and less savory it is.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

The principal Russian fishing-stations for the capture of dog-salmon are situated between the town of Gishiginsk and the settlement Kushka (at the mouth of the river), not more than thirteen miles apart. In all the other rivers the Koryak catch the dog-salmon in the estuary or a few miles above it.

The humpback salmon enters the rivers nearly at the same time as the dog-salmon. As compared with the dog-salmon, the humpback salmon visits the Koryak rivers in very insignificant numbers only, but in some years it happens that the main run of fish consists of humpback salmon. In those years the dog-salmon is seldom seen.

At the end of May or in the beginning of June, *Salmo socialis* comes to the river-mouths or to the shallow bays to spawn. It does not ascend the rivers any considerable distance. The run lasts from seven to ten days, after which the fish return to the sea.

The salveline enters the rivers somewhat later than the dog-salmon, and goes rather far up the chief rivers and their tributaries. Not infrequently it spends the winter in these tributaries, and in spring descends to the sea. It is fished in the rivers in summer and until late in the autumn.

Tom-cod is caught in the river-mouths and bays chiefly in the fall; but it is sought both in summer and in winter, in the latter season in ice-holes in the rivers. Tom-cod is found all the year round in Itkana Bay, but even there the principal catch takes place in autumn. In spring, before the beginning of the salmon-run, the Koryak have such a craving for fresh fish that the inhabitants of the villages on the Paren and Kamenskoye side, and even those of the opposite side of Penshina Bay (from Ma'meč), go to Itkana to fish tom-cod.

Fishing-Implements. — To judge from the primitive form of fishing-implements and of the material of which they are made, the Russians have exerted little influence upon the methods of Koryak fishing. Although the salmon-run in the Koryak rivers is not so abundant and varied as in those of Kamchatka, the dog-salmon run alone is so heavy, that, with good seine-nets, the Koryak would be able to take in their whole annual supply of fish within a few days; but they are as yet unfamiliar with seine-nets. For making nets, they use nettle-fibre, which they spin in a primitive and imperfect manner.

On the Gishiga River the Russian settlers employ seines and other nets, which they make of imported Russian or oftener American twine. They are organized in artels.[1] From three to five families join forces, each procuring one net or part of the seine, about sixteen or eighteen metres in length, and from four to five metres in width. Such a net is from fifty-five to seventy meshes in width, and every side of a mesh measures from three and a half to five centimetres. To make a seine-net these separate nets are sewed together. The net, when in position, is about eighty metres long. For

[1] Artel (артель) means in Russian a company of workers, also a gang of seiners.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

225 136 Seal-Hunting.—Seal is the mammal most extensively hunted, especially in Penshina Bay. The following species are found in Koryak waters: (1) ground-seal, or bearded seal (*Erignatus barbatus;* Koryak, mémel; Russian, nerpa or lakhtak), the largest of seals, measuring from 2 metres to 2.6 metres in length; (2) spotted seal or Okhotsk seal (*Phoca Ochotensis;* Koryak, keli'lin; Russian, larga); (3) ringed-seal (*Phoca hispida;* Koryak, wr'twit; Russian, akipa), the smallest of seals; and (4) ribbon-seal (*Histriophoca fasciata;* Koryak, esgr'es; Russian, krylata). The last-named seal inhabits only Bering Sea; but an old man from the settlement Kuel told me that once he had caught a ribbon-seal which had incidentally entered Penshina Bay.

Ground-seal and ringed-seal are hunted the greater part of the year, except during the winter months. When the coast-ice breaks up, early in June, and the rivers carry masses of ice into the sea, thong-seals and ringed-seals are fond of lying on ice-floes, on which they are killed from skin boats and kayaks. When the river-banks are clear of ice, the thong-seals like to go ashore in bays and river-mouths and bask in the sunshine, or they lie on the banks after high tide. But the principal hunting-season for thong and ringed seals is in autumn, — in September and in the beginning of October. 231 225 Then the seals enter the river-estuaries, evidently in the wake of the fish which ascend the rivers to winter there. In autumn, when the coast-ice begins to form in the gulfs, thong and ringed seals again enjoy floating on ice torn away from the coast by the tide or the wind.

The spotted seal appears early in June, soon after the rivers are clear of ice, near the shores, and enters the estuaries, ascending in small numbers with the flood-tide, and returning with the ebb-tide; but with the beginning of the dog-salmon run, after the 14th of July, the spotted seal, at flood-tide, follows the salmon into the rivers in shoals, in pursuit of the fish, which, in their endeavors to escape them, jump out of the water. Here and there the seals are seen thrusting their heads out of the water, quite often holding a fish in the mouth. In the month of June, when the run of the dog-salmon begins, I made a boat journey from the Gishiga River to the Nayakhan River, and saw all the rocks in this part of Gishiga Bay covered with spotted seals basking in the sun. We approached in our boat quite close to these little islands. Though the sea was perfectly calm, the incessant deafening cries of seabirds, particularly of the numerous varieties of gulls, drowned the noise of the oars, and the seals noticed us only when we were at a distance of some thirty metres from them. As soon as they saw us, however, in an instant they rolled, grunting, off the rocks into the sea. In autumn the spotted seal leaves the coast. The main hunting-season thus coincides with the run of the dog-salmon.

In winter, beginning with the middle of October, the hunting of seals ceases. The Maritime Koryak of Penshina Bay and Bering Sea do not resort to the method practised by the Eskimo, Chukchee, and also by those Gilyak

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

who live between the mouth of the Amur and Saghalin, of watching for seals on the ice near the breathing-holes, or of placing nets near these holes. The sea does not freeze over in winter to any extent, and the narrow strip of coast ice is often torn away by the wind. The violent winds of winter and the floating ice make trips in boats in winter dangerous or impossible. For this reason there is no seal-hunting in winter either in the open sea or on the ice. It is only by chance that every now and then a thong or ringed seal is killed that goes astray on the coast ice or crosses over an isthmus between two bays. In Gishiga Bay, where many coves freeze over to a much greater extent than the open coasts of Penshina Bay, seal-hunting in winter at breathing-holes would probably be possible. In excavating old underground houses of the Maritime Koryak south of Gishiga I found, among other fragments of bone implements, a round piece of antler of a fawn. According to my Russianized Koryak companions, it might have served as an ice-scratcher, such as are employed by the Chukchee and Eskimo in seal-hunting in winter.[1] At the present time, with the exception of the Russianized Koryak of the settlement Nayakhan, there are no Koryak villages on the coast of Gishiga Bay; while the Russians and the Russianized Koryak hunt for sea-mammals only incidentally, even in summer.

At present, guns, nets, and harpoons are employed in hunting thong-seal. Though guns, as will be seen later, are nowadays common enough among the Koryak, they are used but little in seal-hunting. In deep water a seal, if it is not very fat, sinks immediately when killed by a bullet; if only wounded, it escapes. In shallow water, when hunted with the gun, it must be killed on the spot, else the wounded seal will succeed in getting away to the sea. Not infrequently even a seal killed outright is carried out to sea by the current of the river or by the tide, and cannot be found after the water has receded.

When detained by a gale in Atykino Bay[2] for five days, we hit spotted seals many a time with our Winchester and Berdan rifles, but only two of them were found at low water. The gun is of service only when the seal is ashore and far away from water.

In summer and autumn, when seals enter the river-mouths and bays, they are hunted with nets. In autumn, seal-nets are set up mainly to catch thong-seals. The net is netted of thongs made of the hide of thong-seals. Fig. 85, *c* shows three meshes of such a net and the method of making the knots. The length of the side of a mesh is 23 cm.; the length of the whole net, 13 metres; its height, 14 meshes. These nets are placed in river-estuaries or on the beach. They are set at low tide by driving into the ground a row of stakes (Fig. 85, *b*), to which the nets are tied. The floats (Fig. 85, *a*,

[1] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, Fig. 38, *d*, *e*, p. 199.

[2] Atykino Bay lies midway between the mouths of Gishiga and Nayakhan Rivers (See Plate XXIX, Fig. 2).

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

411 ging the line along, but the necessity of breathing compels it to emerge.
225 Then the hunters endeavor to harpoon it again; but if the seal has been killed outright or severely wounded, it is dragged to the boat and lifted into it by means of hooks.

Whenever a hunter has caught a seal on shore, and has not succeeded in cutting off its retreat, he sends a harpoon after it without using a throwing-board. When hunting in kayaks, and in the pursuit of seals basking on ice-floes, both kinds of harpoons are employed, without the throwing-board, or with it; but the former method is in much more frequent use.

On floating ice, seals are hunted both at the beginning of summer and in autumn, when the ice, freezing near the shores, is torn off and carried out to sea. The hunters go out in a skin boat. On noticing one or more seals on a floe, one or more hunters are lowered into kayaks, and endeavor to approach the seal from under the wind, until within range of the harpoon. During this operation the hunters have bags made of the white skins of fawns over their heads and shoulders. If the seals notice the kayak, the hunter stops paddling and lets his white hood still farther down, so as to look like an ice-floe. As soon as the seals have become quiet, the hunter continues his approach. Grasping the harpoon with his right hand, ready for action, he tries at the same time to take hold of the floe, and to pull himself toward it with his left hand by means of a bone hook attached to a long pole (Fig. 91). In case the seal is asleep, the hunter may go up to the

[412]

Fig. 91 ($\frac{1}{11}$). Ice-Hook. Length, 160 cm.

ice-floe in his skin boat, and even climb up from the kayak. In the same manner rocks and islands on which seals lie are approached in kayaks.

225 Hunters in kayaks cut off the retreat to the sea, of seals which have
221 remained in shallow bays and river-estuaries during ebb-tide.

Winter supplies are principally obtained from the hunt in autumn. The seals caught from early until late in summer, and principally the spotted seals killed during the dog-salmon run, serve for immediate use only. It is impossible to lay by supplies at this season, because the meat decomposes rapidly. Besides, the seals are not very fat in summer.

During the fishing-season the hunters pay little attention to seal-hunting. They are too intent upon catching fish and preparing it for the winter supply. Besides, there is plenty of food in summer. It may happen that

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

from a lean seal only the skin is taken, while the carcass is cast into the sea. In many cases the spotted seal is hunted in summer for its skin only. The whole winter supply of seals is obtained in autumn by means of net and harpoon. At this season the temperature is so low that in the night, or even by day, the dead seals freeze and can be left in their skins. In autumn the seals are very fat, and when shot with a gun do not sink so easily. The hunters usually make two autumn expeditions out to sea for hunting seal (mainly thong-seal, in part ringed-seal, and very few spotted seals), each expedition lasting several days. Each boat is accompanied by several kayaks, which are either taken aboard or follow on independently.

In Kamenskoye and Itkana I collected some information concerning the numbers of seals killed for winter supply by the hunters in the autumn of 1900. The hunters keep no account of the number of seals killed and eaten in summer. In Kamenskoye the inventory made by me, of the autumn hunt of nineteen families, gave a total of 272 thong-seals, or an average of 14.3 to a family; the minimum catch of a family being 3, the maximum, 27. They had hunted ringed-seals as well, but kept no account of them. They were few in number, and part of them were eaten during the hunt. In general, during the autumn hunt attention is paid to the large seals only.

In Itkana I recorded the results of the autumn hunt of seals for the winter supply of seventeen families. There were, in all, 292 thong-seals and 89 ringed-seals, with an average of 17.2 thong-seals and 5.2 ringed-seals to a family. I also learned that 112 thong-seals were caught by means of nets, and 180 were killed with harpoons. It is clear from this that the inhabitants of Itkana were more successful than those of Kamenskoye. This is explained in part by the fact that very little salmon is caught at Itkana, which is situated on a bay with a small river in which the dog-salmon does not run, and therefore they have to content themselves mainly with catching such small fish as the salveline, tom-cod, smelt, and uyo'k *(Salmo socialis)*.

The inhabitants of Kuel and Paren, who obtain large supplies of dog-salmon on the Paren River, are much less occupied with seahunting than those of Itkana, and also less than those of Kamenskoye, who obtain dog-salmon in great quantities. The inhabitants of these settlements live principally on fish.

Whale and Walrus Hunting. — In former times whaling played a very important part both in Bering Sea and in the Sea of Okhotsk. To judge from the stories told by the Koryak, Penshina Bay used to be rich in whales, which were hunted frequently. This is sufficiently proved by the pre-eminence of the whale festival over other festivals. It is known from ancient records that American whalers visited Penshina Bay as early as the beginning of the last century. Old Koryak still relate how they themselves used to go whaling, but this industry came to an end many years ago. The

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sea hunting with reindeer-breeding. The remaining 7 groups of Koryaks—the Kamentsy, Parentsy, Itkantsy, Apukintsy, Kereks, Karagintsy and Palantsy—also maintained complex economies, with one or another occupation predominating.

Koryak reindeer-breeding was of two types. The first type—the keeping of large herds—existed among the Chavchuvens. In the early part of the 20th century, a small group of reindeer-breeders owned large herds, accounting for up to 80% of the total number of head. In the area of the Penzhina River, some reindeer-breeders owned 2-3 herds, adding up to as many as 10,000 reindeer. The pasturing of the large herds owned by the rich Koryaks was done by poor Koryaks who owned only a few reindeer or none at all, and were compelled to tend their master's herds in exchange for food and clothing.

The reindeer provided the principal item of the reindeer-breeders' diet—meat, and the basic material for clothing and housing—hides, as well as tendons, of which thread was made. At the same time, the reindeer was to the reindeer-breeders the sole means of transportation. Hence, the entire life of the reindeer-breeding Koryaks was adapted to the demands of their basic occupation. In winter, the herd grazed near the encampment. As soon as the pasture was exhausted, the master drove out in a light sled, similar to that of the Chukchi and harnessed to a pair of deer, to search for another pasture. After that, the entire camp migrated to the new site, and the herdsmen drove the herd to the new pasture. Such migrations took place 4-5 times during the winter. In the spring, before the calving (in April), the females were separated from the rest of the herd. Calving time (May) was the hardest period for the reindeer-breeders. The newborn calves had to be protected from predators—wolves, foxes, wolverines and ravens, and also kept from freezing. At this time, the herdsmen had no rest either by day or by night. They were helped by members of their families, and even old men and children took part in guarding the herd in encampments where the human population was small. Afterwards, the herdsmen drove the herds for the whole summer into the mountains, which abounded in pasturelands. The correct choice of the summer pasture determined the welfare of the herd for the entire year. Summer pasturing required from the reindeer-breeder great skill, experience, and knowledge of the tundra and the reindeer's requirements. The encampment was situated at this period in a summer site, usually on the bank of a river abounding in fish. In autumn (at the end of September and beginning of October), the herdsmen brought the herd to the encampment. Meeting of the herd—one of the principal holidays of the reindeer-breeders—was attended by numerous rituals. After the first snow, the herd and the camp migrated to the winter range.

The herding was done without dogs, which the Koryak reindeer-breeders did not use. Nimble feet, alert eyes and a leather lasso requiring great skill of the herdsmen—these were the means at his disposal to protect the herd from snowstorms and wolves in winter, from foxes and ravens in spring, during the calving season, and from mosquitoes and gnats in summer.

Another type of reindeer-breeding—that of small herds—existed among the Alyutortsy Koryaks. More than 50% of all the Alyutortsy kept reindeer, but few had herds as large as 1000 head. A characteristic feature of Alyutor reindeer-breeding was the use of dogs as the principal sled animals. Each household had one, two, three or more teams. Reindeer were used only for short trips without loads.

This type of reindeer-breeding was usually combined with sea hunting and fishing. All the Alyutortsy, with rare exceptions, went out on sea hunts, especially in spring, when they hunted on drifting ice floes. In summer,

In summer, during the fish-runs, all reindeer-breeding Alyutortsy migrated to the mouths of rivers, where they lived with their sedentary kinsmen and worked with them, preparing stocks of fish for the winter. The reindeer herds remained at this time in the care of herdsmen—the boys of the family. This second type of Koryak reindeer-breeding originated much later than the first.

The hunting of sea animals (various species of seal and white whale) was the principal occupation of the northern sedentary Koryaks, who lived on the coast of Penzhina Bay: Kamentsy, Parentsy, Itkantsy. It also played an important role among the rest of the sedentary Koryaks: the Kereks, Apukintsy, Palantsy, Karagintsy, and sedentary Alyutortsy.

Sea hunting was done during two seasons: spring and fall. The spring season began in mid-March and ended in the latter part of June.

The hunters, armed with rifles and spears, drove out in parties of 78 men, or more, by dogsleds on the sea ice, 5 to 10 kilometers from shore. The seals, which climbed out on the ice, were shot with rifles. The kill was loaded on the sled, and the hunters returned to their village either the same or the following day, after a night on the ice. In a party of 78 men, 2 usually had guns, while the rest brought in the catch, loaded it on the sled and transported it; some were simply onlookers. In May, when open water appeared among the ice floes, sea hunting was done in baydars (skin boats).

The fall season began in mid-September and ended in the latter half of November. The fall hunting was also done in baydars and barkasy [flat-bottomed plank boats]. The animals were caught with nets of sealskin strips.

Long ago, the Koryaks hunted whales. According to legends and literary sources of the 18th century, the hunt was conducted with a huge net, woven of thick strips of leather. Large stones were used as sinkers. The net was attached to coastal cliffs and crags. Dozens of baydars, each with more than 10 hunters, armed with harpoons, sailed out into the sea. The hunters drove the whale into the net, in which it became entangled. The heavy sinkers made it impossible for the whale to swim out into the sea with the net. The hunters showered him with spears. Wounded and exhausted, the whale died, and the hunters joined forces to pull him ashore. The Alyutortsy also used joined boats instead of baydars in hunting whales.

The skins of sea animals were used for straps and boot-soles. The meat and blubber were eaten and stocked. The blubber also provided light. To the Kamentsy, Parentsy and Itkantsy, the products of sea hunting—blubber, skins, and sometimes meat as well—served as the principal media of barter with the reindeer-breeders, from whom they obtained deerskins and meat.

Fishing had long been the main occupation of the eastern sedentary Koryaks of the Bering Sea coast: the Karagintsy, the sedentary Alyutortsy and the Apukintsy. Fishing was also important to the western sedentary Koryaks—the Palantsy, and the northern ones—the Kereks—and somewhat less for the settled Koryaks on the Penzhina—Kamentsy, Parentsy and Itkantsy. Fishing was done throughout the summer and early fall season—from mid-June to the middle of September.

The most widespread method of fishing was by means of barriers. The river was fenced off from either bank with two barriers of stakes and twigs. At the place where they met, the fishermen attached under the water a chiruch (a sack-net) or a "muzzle," made of strips of wood, laths or twigs. Such barriers were set in shallow places, where the fishermen could work during shoal runs without boats or kungasy [sailboats]. The "muzzles" were emptied several times a day. During the heavy runs of fish (Siberian salmon and other migrating salmon species), the Koryaks moved to the mouths of rivers. Here groups of households combined into cooperatives and fished

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Weapons and utensils:
1—three-pronged spear with a throwing board for hunting birds; 2—spear with a stone tip, and detail of spear; 3—blubber lamp on a wooden stand; 4—sack-net for fishing; 5—a man's knife; 6—a woman's knife for cutting skins; 7—fire-making by means of friction.

Long ago, the villages of sedentary Koryaks were fortified. Some of the Koryak forts, such as the Olyutorskiy, were surrounded by an earth wall and looked like fortresses. The reindeer-breeders also surrounded their encampments with defensive walls of sleds, walrus skins and rocks.

The reindeer-breeders' encampments usually consisted of 3 or 4 tents. In winter they lived in mountain valleys shielded from the wind; in summer, at the mouths of rivers. The villages of the coastal Koryaks were comparatively populous and were situated near bays, convenient for hunting and